

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 IO-03 NSC-05 NSCE-00 INR-05

CIAE-00 PM-03 SAM-01 SP-02 /042 W

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R 211116Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY LISBON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5730

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMCONSUL OPORTO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL PONTA DELGADA

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

USUN NEW YORK 0934

DIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LISBON 0431

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-4

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, PO

SUBJECT: SA CARNEIRO'S VIEWS ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

REF: LISBON 368 (DTG 171202Z JAN 76)

SUMMARY: SA CARNEIRO SAYS PPD WILL NEVER ACCEPT MELO ANTUNES' REVISION OF ARMED FORCES-POLITICAL PARTIES PACT. IF IT IS IMPOSED HE SEES DANGER OF MILITARY COUP AND BLOODSHED. SA CARNEIRO CONSIDERS PINHEIRO DE AZEVEDO THE MOST VIABLE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE AT THIS POINT, BUT IS CONCERNED THAT COSTA GOMES MAY BE WORKING ON SOARES TO ACCEPT HIM AS PRESIDENT IN RETURN FOR PRIME MINISTER'S POST. HE THINKS  
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MELO ANTUNES IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AND WILL NO

LONGER BE A POLITICAL FIGURE AFTER THE ELECTIONS. HE IS HIGHLY CRITICAL OF MELO ANTUNES' EFFORTS TO HAVE PORTUGAL RECOGNIZE MPLA AND INDICATES HIS PARTY WILL STAND FIRM ON THIS ISSUE. SA CARNEIRO INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO MEET WITH SOARES TO RESOLVE PPD-PS DIFFERENCES. END SUMMARY.

1. HAD A SESSION WITH SA CARNEIRO JANUARY 20, IN WHICH FOLLOWING POINTS OF INTEREST WERE COVERED:

-- ARMED FORCES-POLITICAL PARTIES PACT: SA CARNEIRO, LIKE SOARES, THINKS THE MELO ANTUNES COUNTER-PROPOSAL ON THE ARMED FORCES PACT IS ATROCIOUS. HE CHARACTERIZED IT AS WORSE THAN THE PRESENT PACT. IF IT GOES THROUGH HE FEARS IT WOULD ULTIMATELY LEAD TO A RIGHTIST MILITARY COUP IN PORTUGAL WITH WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED. HIS PARTY WILL INSIST THAT THE PACT BE MODIFIED.

-- PS/PPD FEUD: SA CARNEIRO MAINTAINED THAT HE REALLY DID NOT WANT TO FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALISTS BUT THAT THE SOCIALISTS KEPT ATTACKING THE PPD. HE WAS PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF THE SOCIALISTS' MARXIST ORIENTATION, ALTHOUGH HE RECOGNIZED THAT MARIO SOARES PRIVATELY DOES NOT ESPOUSE A MARXIST PHILOSOPHY. MANY OF THE PS LEFT WING, HOWEVER, CONTINUE TO ARGUE IN FAVOR OF AN ALLIANCE WITH THE PCP. HE WAS ALSO CRITICAL OF THE SOCIALISTS' REFUSAL TO DISAVOW WHAT HE TERMED THE COMMUNIST-CONTROLLED IMPLEMENTATION OF LAND REFORM AND OF THE MARXIST CONSTITUTION BEING DRAWN UP BY THE SOCIALIST-DOMINATED CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. NEVERTHELESS WHEN I PROPOSED THAT HE AND SOARES GET TOGETHER TO RESOLVE DIFFERENCES HE ACCEPTED READILY.

-- PRESIDENTIAL POLITICS: I SUGGESTED ONE AREA IN WHICH PS AND PPD MIGHT REACH AGREEMENT IS A COMMON PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. IF SO PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS COULD BE SIMULTANEOUS WITH LEGISLATIVE ELECTIONS. SA CARNEIRO AGREED. AT THIS POINT HE THOUGHT MOST VIABLE CANDIDATE WAS PINHEIRO DE AZEVEDO WHO "WAS A GOOD MAN, BUT NOT AS PRIME MINISTER." HE FEARED THAT COSTA GOMES, DESPITE HIS RECENT DISAVOWAL OF POLITICAL AMBITIONS, MIGHT STILL BE MANEUVERING TO RETAIN THE PRESIDENCY. HE CONSIDERED COSTA GOMES A COMMUNIST SUPPORTER WHO WAS NOW TRYING TO RECOUP LOST

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GROUND. HE NOTED THAT COSTA GOMES HAD BEEN WOOING SOARES LATELY (SEE PARA 4 REFTTEL) AND FEARED A DEAL IN WHICH COSTA GOMES WOULD KEEP THE PRESIDENCY AND PROMISE THE PRIME MINISTERSHIP TO SOARES. OF THE OTHER CANDIDATES MENTIONED FOR PRESIDENT SA CARNEIRO DID NOT THINK ALTINO DE MAGALHAES HAD THE NECESSARY NATIONAL EXPOSURE, FERMINO MIGUEL WAS A GOOD MAN BUT WAS TOO CLOSELY LINKED TO SPINOLA, AND PIRES VELOSO DID NOT HAVE THE NATIONAL STATURE. HE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LISBON 431

LIMDIS

THOUGHT GENERAL EANES MIGHT MAKE A GOOD CANDIDATE, BUT AT THIS POINT "PINHEIRO DE AZEVEDO IS THE MOST VIABLE HYPOTHESIS."

-- MELO ANTUNES: AS HE HAS IN PREVIOUS MEETINGS WITH ME, SA CARNEIRO STRONGLY CRITICIZED MELO ANTUNES AND GOP FOREIGN POLICY. HE WAS PARTICULARLY IRRITATED WITH GOP'S PERFORMANCE AT UN, WITH MELO ANTUNES', COSTA GOMES' AND VITOR CRESPO'S EFFORTS TO HAVE GOP RECOGNIZE MPLA AND MELO ANTUNES' RECENT STATEMENT IN BUDAPEST IN SUPPORT OF THE MPLA. HE SAID THE PPD WOULD STAND FIRM AGAINST RECOGNITION OF MPLA AND THAT HE WOULD TAKE THIS ISSUE ON AT HIS NEXT PRESS CONFERENCE. HE ALSO ASKED THAT I PROVIDE HIM WITH MATERIAL ON PORTUGAL'S

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UN VOTES THAT HE COULD USE AT THE PRESS CONFERENCE. SA CARNEIRO THOUGHT MELO ANTUNES WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY ISOLATED AND WOULD NO LONGER BE AROUND AFTER THE ELECTIONS.

-- PPD SPLIT: AS ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS SA CARNEIRO SEEMED UNCONCERNED BY THE SPLIT IN THE PPD. HE DENIGRATED THE DISSIDENTS' RECENT CONFERENCE NEAR COIMBRA AND WAS CONFIDENT THE WHOLE EPISODE WOULD RECEDE QUICKLY INTO THE BACKGROUND.

-- CDS: SA CARNEIRO COMMENTED THAT THE CDS HAD FOUND NEW SOURCES OF FUNDS FROM EUROPEAN CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS AND HAD LAUNCHED A STRONG POLITICAL OFFENSIVE. CDS DEPUTY GENERAL GALVAO DE MELO CLEARLY WANTED TO BE THE CDS CANDIDATE FOR PRESIDENT BUT SA CARNEIRO DOUBTED THE CDS LEADERS WERE VERY ENTHUSIASTIC.

-- INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS: SA CARNEIRO PLANNED TO MAKE A VISIT NEXT WEEK TO THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET AND TO FOLLOW THIS WITH VISITS TO FRANCE AND GERMANY. HE TALKED ABOUT VISITING THE US IN EARLY FEBRUARY. IT WAS OBVIOUS FROM HIS ENTHUSIASM FOR HIS NEW INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS, PARTICULARLY THE GERMANS, THAT HE INTENDS TO BEAT SOARES AT HIS OWN GAME.

2. COMMENT: SA CARNEIRO TENDS TO SEE THINGS IN BLACK AND WHITE TERMS AND HIS COMMENTS HAVE TO BE READ IN THAT LIGHT. HE IS PROBABLY MORE TO BLAME THAN SOARES FOR THE PPD-PS FEUD, BUT BOTH OBVIOUSLY MUST SHOULDER RESPONSIBILITY. MOREOVER THE PPD STANDS TO GAIN MORE BY ATTACKING THE PS THAN THE PS STANDS TO GAIN BY ATTACKING THE PPD. HIS FEAR OF A COSTA GOMES-SOARES DEAL IS PROBABLY OVERDRAWN, ALTHOUGH COSTA GOMES DOES SEEM TO BE TRYING TO REPAIR HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH SOARES. HIS PREDICTION OF AN EVENTUAL MILITARY COUP IF THE PACT REVISION GOES THROUGH AS IS PROBABLY REFLECTS LESS HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE NEGOTIATING POSTURE OF THE PARTIES (THEY WILL CERTAINLY BE ABLE TO MODIFY IT) THAN HIS MORE GENERAL FEAR OF A RESURGENT RIGHT WING IN THE MILITARY.  
CARLUCCI

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